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NOTE

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2468th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 16 August 1983, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL
(France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2468)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 8 August 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15914)

The meeting was called to order at 4.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 8 August 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15914)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In conformity with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [2464th to 2466th meetings], I invite the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Garcia Iturbe (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsay (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Elfaki (Sudan), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have

received letters from the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Egypt, the German Democratic Republic and India, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kulawiec (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Hucke (German Democratic Republic) and Mr. Krishnan (India) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them the following documents: S/15924, containing a letter dated 12 August 1983 from the representative of Somalia to the President of the Council, and S/15925, containing a letter dated 15 August from the representative of Egypt to the President of the Council.

4. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The month of August has been exceptionally hot and humid in more ways than one for all of us here. You, Mr. President, have had to bear an unfairly large part of this humid heat, and yet you have remained cool, calm and superbly efficient. It therefore gives me pleasure to compliment you once more on the guidance and direction you have already given us which augurs well for the eventual outcome of these meetings.

5. The Council was seized of a similar complaint by Libya last February [S/15615], and only a few weeks later the Council was seized of a matter raised by Chad [S/15643]. Today it can perhaps be said that the Council has a "seizure" on a concurrent mixture of two separate but linked items, each of which is an almost inevitable corollary of the issues previously discussed. Unfortunately, however, the situations on the spot in both instances have gravely deteriorated, and the sober climate needed for their discussion has equally deteriorated in this chamber.

6. My delegation expressed its views in considerable detail on each item on the two previous occasions. We will not, therefore, repeat those details today, but we feel constrained to make a few additional observations with our customary frankness because serious and honest comment is called for.

7. The present international situation is unprecedentedly precarious. We are living through a period of very

great tension with outright conflict raging out of control in far too many sensitive areas at the same time. The world is in fact lurching from one crisis to another.

8. And yet, for too long now constructive efforts proposed from various sources and designed to relieve tensions and even to reduce confrontation have been receiving scant response from the super-Powers. On the contrary, the tone of rhetorical posturing has become more bellicose; at times, hastily pronounced national positions have tended to increase fears, complicate issues and even undermine the relevance of a classical interpretation of the principles of international law as applicable to contemporary situations. It is, perhaps, a form of "instant diplomacy" particularly ill-suited to the needs of modern times.

9. We feel that, even as 1984 approaches, double-think and double-talk seem already to be in vogue; the viewpoints of national positions are clouded by ideological and strategic considerations. These, all too often, are completely alien to given situations and tend to ride roughshod over the real interests of small countries, which, mainly, are only striving to overcome difficulties arising from their past history and yearning for change and progress, principally in the economic and social sectors.

10. Against this background, against this sickly situation which calls for wise and patient decisions, remedies which belong to a past era are recklessly still being applied today.

11. In Malta's view, three major current approaches in particular give great concern to the majority of countries.

12. The first, and certainly the crudest of all, essentially envisages the threat or actual use of force. This approach may be contained, albeit ruinously and precariously, when manifested by one military alliance against the other. Each side has practically become immune to any pressure from the other. In fact, so used is each side to the existing state of super-armament that efforts have even been made to accept this state of affairs as normal, by labeling frequent and massive military exercises announced in advance as "confidence-building measures".

13. What seems to be overlooked, and certainly is often conveniently forgotten, is that these so-called confidence-building measures, which can be nonchalantly shrugged off as routine by evenly matched opposing alliances, are more likely to be seen as "panic-inducing measures" by the smaller countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which unfortunately have become the preferred arena of the two super-Powers in their competition for predominance.

14. It might be added that, the longer the period of advance notice given, the longer the period of acute concern and uncertainty for small countries—which even the most solemn assurances by the super-Powers, given their past record, can hardly be expected to allay.

15. In this sense, therefore, my country—among the smallest in the world, unarmed and unaligned by the will

of its people, but situated in an area of turbulence, confrontation and uncertainty—can readily understand and even share the concern of other relatively small countries when faced with a massive armed naval and aerial military build-up near their shores. The potential for destruction, even in the case of accident, is almost impossible to estimate. In an enclosed sea, the shores of one country are the shores of many countries.

16. A second approach, less crude perhaps but none the less dangerous, is the tendency of either one of the two super-Powers to nudge its preferred and protected friends into adventurist policies. "Unwise grins" is the apt phrase used to describe this attitude in an article by Gideon Samet in *The New York Times* of 16 August. Many actions in the fairly recent past might not have been taken had there not been a fairly reasonable assurance given, or at least calculated, that no adverse concerted international reaction would immediately follow. This approach might work in the short run but it can only exacerbate conflicts, because in international relations even the laws of nature are defied, and to every action, sooner or later, there will be an opposite but unequal reaction.

17. All too often, in addition, there is the tendency of one side to even-out a "score" previously made by the other. And so the circle of violence increases. Its most fertile field, and the safest for the super-Powers, once again is in the ranks of the third-world countries.

18. And the third major category of current counter-productive measures is the insistence of the super-Powers on controlling and manipulating according to their dictates the working of international organizations to which they belong and to frustrate the fragile efficiency and effectiveness of those to which they are not parties. This applies not only to political organizations such as the United Nations but also to other, specialized institutions for the provision of untied aid, expertise and finance.

19. As a result, these organizations are being shaken to their very foundations, and unless remedial action is taken in time the organizations will be unable to deal with the very problems for whose resolution they were established: a bleak prospect indeed. A low common denominator of agreement on any one issue inevitably has repercussions on the discussion of other issues. We have sunk so low that, as the Secretary-General has pointed out, we need to start practically from scratch through a new re-commitment to the Charter of the United Nations, nearly 40 years after its solemn proclamation.

20. Nor, apparently, will the super-Powers consider favourably the creation of new avenues for progress, new initiatives for dialogue. For many years now, Malta, right at the centre of Mediterranean instability and conscious of the inherent danger of such a situation, has ardently been advocating a new spirit of independent dialogue between Europe and the countries bordering the Mediterranean, designed to herald a new awakening of the Mediterranean identity and to build new foundations for peace based on co-operation.

21. We therefore find it surprising, indeed disquieting, that those same countries which themselves belong to several regional organizations are the ones that frown on the creation of a mechanism for effective Mediterranean co-operation. They are the first to extol, as they frequently do, the benefits of the regional and sub-regional organizations to which they belong; yet they profess to see no need to consider some concrete form of preliminary work for reducing tension and increasing the sectors of Mediterranean co-operation. Instead of working for the creation of a zone of peace they seem to prefer a sea of instability to remain in the region.

22. My Foreign Minister, in his statement before the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly,¹ and I myself on numerous other occasions have given concrete examples of what can and should be done, gradually but surely, to reverse the present trend, which is perhaps at one of its most dangerous periods even right now as we speak in the Council. We hope, therefore, that the favourable response we are seeking in the process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will soon be forthcoming.

23. In short, instead of throwing up our hands in resignation and despair, we need to commence a search for a change of attitude, for patient understanding and for the dedicated collegial work necessary to turn the present tide away from disaster—both here, in established regional organizations to which we belong, and in the new ones which need to be created.

24. So much for the general approach as it relates not only to the Mediterranean but equally to other sensitive areas.

25. Let me now refer briefly to the issue between Chad and Libya. We very much regret that the process favoured by the Council, as it unanimously pronounced itself on 6 April [2430th meeting], has not yet been embarked on. We recognize that, on the contrary, the situation has in fact deteriorated.

26. We very much regret the loss of life and property suffered by the people of Chad as a result of the intensified conflict. The people of Chad need to be left alone, completely free of any outside interference, so as to overcome their internal problems through dialogue and reconciliation and to orient their efforts to economic and social development under a Government of their own exclusive choice.

27. For that they need the help and patient understanding of all countries, and particularly of their neighbours. My own country pledges to extend any help necessary within its modest means. We are glad to note the constant readiness of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which is apparently meeting even now, to continue to seek a peaceful solution, if necessary even to send fact-finding missions. We believe that the Council should urge the speedy cessation of hostilities, a subsequent withdrawal of all foreign forces and offer to help and to back the efforts and good offices of the OAU to promote national recon-

ciliation within Chad and good relations with its neighbours. This, it seems to us, is the only way to progress.

28. We stress once more that it is only natural for regional States themselves, which bear the primary responsibility for safeguarding the peace and security of their own region, to take the initiative. We do not believe that the brandishing of military hardware, however limited in scope and objective, can help; unfortunately, it only superimposes extraneous considerations which tend to exacerbate, rather than to alleviate, any local tension which may exist. The road to peace lies not in strife but in a dialogue amongst equals, helped by the regional organization concerned and backed by the Council.

29. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, I have already expressed my delegation's great pleasure at seeing you in the Chair directing the Council's affairs this month. My main objective this afternoon is to state my Government's position on the matter which is before the Council.

30. It will be recalled that on 19 February of this year the Government of Libya requested the Council to meet urgently "to consider the deteriorating situation near the Libyan shores that could jeopardize the security and peace of the region and the world" [see S/15615]. The Council then met to consider the situation which, as members will remember, was attributed to what the Permanent Representative of Libya characterized as "provocative military actions of the United States Administration" [ibid.]. Libya had objected to the presence of the United States nuclear-powered aircraft-carrier *Nimitz* and some other naval vessels near its coast. It had also complained of the dispatch of four AWACs aircraft to one of its neighbours. As far as Libya was concerned the presence of those planes was a form of aggression against its own territory and they were to be used for the purpose of spying over Libyan territory.

31. As members of the Council know, Libya has once again drawn urgent attention

"to the intensification of United States intervention in the affairs of the regions of the Mediterranean, the Middle East and Africa to the acts of intimidation and provocation directed against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which is a part of these regions, as well as to the consequences of the dispatch of United States forces and military equipment to the said regions" [see S/15914].

32. The representative of Libya has also told the Council that his Government regards United States activities as constituting a flagrant violation of the Jamahiriya's territorial waters and airspace.

33. While agreeing that the Council is confronted with "a most grave threat to international peace and security" [see 2464th meeting, para. 32], the United States representative has however attributed this situation to Libya, which he has accused of "brazen, contemptuous challenge

to the bedrock principles of the Charter of the United Nations" [*ibid.*]. He has also dismissed Libya's current complaint about provocation and aggression as a mere smokescreen of patently diversionary charges, in his opinion designed to divert attention from Libya's own aggression against Chad.

34. Those, therefore, are the charges and countercharges before the Council. However, one thing is clear to the Council: these charges and countercharges by the two parties are symptomatic of a dangerously escalating situation of tension which, unless ended immediately, may lead to open conflict, with grave consequences for peace and security in North Africa, the Mediterranean and other regions. The Council, the only international body charged with primary responsibility for world peace and security, must therefore make it abundantly clear to the two parties that they are under obligation to avoid any acts likely to disturb peace and security not only in those regions but anywhere else in the world. As Members of the United Nations the parties must scrupulously observe all the principles outlined in the Charter with regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes. The parties should be told in no uncertain terms that, while affirming every nation's right to pursue its own interests as it perceives them, the Council does require every Member of the United Nations to refrain, in pursuing and promoting its national interests and in conducting its international relations, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States.

35. In the meantime, the massive intervention by foreign Powers has seriously complicated the situation in Chad. It is therefore our firm conviction that peace and stability in Chad can be restored only by the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from that country of all foreign military forces and war materials.

36. Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I am speaking again before the Council in order to state my country's position on the issue before the Council. I shall do so unambiguously and forthrightly.

37. First, however, I wish briefly to mention the Libyan allegations and insults with regard to my country and its leaders. Those insults began on Thursday, 11 August, and continued through Friday, 12 August. And there is every reason to suppose that there will be more in the days to come. However, as the saying goes, the dog howls and the caravan passes on. Invective is usually the recourse of those who are in the wrong.

38. When, in my right of reply on 3 August, I spoke of a "naked madman" several representatives then present in this room laughed. However, after the various statements made by our Libyan brother, who was visibly ill at ease—and who would not be, given such unspeakable behaviour—I imagine that those same representatives are even more convinced that the proverb I employed has a firm basis in reality.

39. Faithful to our line of conduct, therefore, I shall refrain from mentioning all of those insults and, indeed,

from employing the same vocabulary with regard to Libya and its leaders. And yet everyone in this chamber knows that there is much to be said on their account.

40. I would merely inform him that his insults have not touched us. We will never disown our friends, and it is not for Libya or for any other country—friend or foe—to dictate our choices to us.

41. I would also remind him that all countries in the world have some amount of debts; yet Zaire retains its dignity. In any event, never will a Zairian go to Libya begging for alms.

42. Frankly, I should think it would make our Libyan brothers feel embarrassed, and even ridiculous, to boast about their wealth every time they are implicated or caught red-handed in some misdeed. They sound like a worn-out gramophone record. Does wealth, after all, justify aggression?

43. As it happens, Africa and the world community are once again accusing Libya of interference in Chad's internal affairs and are calling upon it to halt that aggression.

44. First, the Libyan representative denies any intervention by his country in the affairs of Chad. He justifies what is going on in Chad, claiming that it is a civil war amongst the people of Chad alone. As my colleague from the Ivory Coast recalled, Mr. Goukouni Weddey left Chad without even a suitcase. Even if he was able to take a suitcase with him, I still find it a bit hard to believe that any suitcase made is large enough to contain fighter aircraft, bombers and tanks—equipment that Mr. Goukouni never possessed while he was in Chad. Libya alone denies its intervention and aggression against Chad, even though we have a vast amount of incriminating evidence to prove it.

45. Despite all that evidence, Libya attempts to justify the aggression, claiming that the Government of N'Djamena is illegitimate. The response to that is that it is not up to Libya to legitimize or illegitimize Governments in the world. In any event, the Government of Mr. Hisssein Habré is a legitimate one. Having run out of arguments and in an attempt to gain time, the Libyan representative then cries out against the aggression supposedly being planned by certain States against his country.

46. Although as the Libyan representative himself is aware that is a mere ruse, let us speak of that complaint.

47. Aggression is a serious act, and since my country has frequently been the victim of aggressions from all sides it must deal with this complaint with the seriousness the subject deserves.

48. Let us ask, therefore: what does it involve? Is there aggression against Libya or are there facts or at least indications that would lead one to believe that there is a conspiracy against that country?

49. Let us briefly recall the facts: some time ago Libya annexed the Aouzou Strip, which belongs to Chad. Chad complained to the Council [S/15643], and our body invited the parties involved not to take advantage of the *fait accompli* and to enter into negotiations.

50. In order to avoid having to return that piece of land, and with the complicity of a disciple who might moreover be able to help it to annex all of the territory of Chad, which it knows to be rich in raw materials, Libya commits aggression against Chad. Chad calls upon its friends, and some countries, including my own, fly to the assistance of the victim. None of those countries against which Libya claims to have a complaint is to be found to be occupying that country's territory, not even in the Aouzou Strip, an area which, though disputed, belongs to Chad, as everyone knows. Not one shot has been fired against Libya.

51. In these circumstances, who is the real aggressor? The answer is patently obvious. Hence, is the complaint of our Libyan brothers well founded? Certainly not.

52. If, upon leaving this chamber, we should suddenly encounter a wicked wolf or a kind of King Kong determined to devour or crush an innocent baby, no matter how peace-loving or justice-loving one may be, would it not be a spontaneous reaction to cast at least one stone in the monster's direction?

53. What Libya wants, however, is to have its hands left free to pursue its aggression and to engage in destabilization and destruction. For that reason, my delegation feels that our brother from Sudan made a perfect analysis when he stated:

"Libya's designs and plots have one and the same source and present an unchanged scenario. In the past—last February, to be specific—while Libya prepared to launch aggression against my country it hastened to complain to the Council [S/15615] about the provocations and threats of the United States of America, which were said to jeopardize its security and safety and to be part of an aggressive plot aimed at toppling the régime in Libya. The Council convened [2415th to 2418th meetings], and all members know the rest of the story, which I need not go over once again. Suffice it to say that the régime which was said to be threatened has remained intact and unharmed to date. Today, while Libya is flagrantly and directly intervening in another neighbouring country, using all kinds of land and air weapons against it and against the suffering people of Chad, subjecting the country to the worst torture, displacement and murder, Libya once more comes before the Council claiming, as it has in the past, that its security and safety are threatened. What we are again witnessing today reminds us of a popular saying in Sudan, a saying that unmasks such deception: 'He transgresses against me, then with crocodile tears hastens to complain.' That is an exact expression of the essence of what Libya has now had recourse to at the international level to camouflage its aggressive plots and designs against its neighbouring States and peoples.

"Libya's request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council is nothing but a ploy, a poor attempt to deceive the Council as well as the whole international community and to divert their attention from the present situation. Whereas attention should be focused on the wanton, stark aggression perpetrated by Libya against the people and Government of Chad, Libya is trying to obstruct the Council from continuing its meetings on that subject, which started on 3 August [2462nd meeting], to consider the legitimate complaint raised by Chad [S/15902] against Libya's aggression and intervention, striking by land and air towns and villages in Chad, using internationally prohibited weapons, such as phosphorous, fragmentation and napalm bombs, as we were told yesterday by the representative of Chad [2463rd meeting] and as we learned from the various mass media on a daily basis. Libya also helps the rebels and insurgents, and recruits mercenaries to work against the sovereignty, independence, security, safety and territorial integrity of Chad.

"We are confident that Libya's stratagem will not deceive the international community and that it will not attract the Council." [2466th meeting, paras. 108 to 110.]

54. Be that as it may, I can state that the reaction will not change.

55. Libya's manoeuvres had already failed at the first and second meetings at Tripoli; they failed at Managua and New Delhi and, even more recently, Addis Ababa. They also failed during the attempts to destabilize Morocco, Egypt, Sudan and other States. I am sure that similar attempts will fail in the cases of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Chad, but meanwhile we must stop the flow of blood. Perhaps their present failure will be a final lesson to our Libyan brothers to devote their resources to the development of their population and not to foment trouble and cause havoc in other countries.

56. To put an end to its consideration of the Libyan complaint, having shown the futility of that complaint and having listened to the punctilious reading by our Libyan brother of statements unrelated to the subject under discussion—it is to be hoped that next time he will not come to read to us from the Bible or the Koran—the Council would do well to close the debate on this question.

57. As regards the Libyan aggression against Chad, I can sum up my position no better than by adopting the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union on 12 August this year. I paraphrase what he said as follows:

"[Zaire] demands an immediate cessation of interventionist actions undertaken to the detriment of the national unity of the Republic of Chad and the cause of peace in Africa and throughout the world. Such actions [I would add 'this aggression'] and hegemonistic claims are in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and

other international documents signed by [Libya]" [2465th meeting, para. 19].

58. It is the Council's duty to help Chad to return to peace, under the guidance of its legitimate Government, that of Mr. Hissein Habré. All of us in the Council certainly believe in the principle of negotiation, but with whom should the Government of Chad negotiate? Should it negotiate with Libya—that is, with the aggressor? I think not. One does not negotiate with the aggressor. The aggressor must withdraw unconditionally and leave the people of Chad to get down to reconstructing their country.

59. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

60. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): May I extend to you, Sir, the felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency for the current month. We are especially happy to see you occupying this high office. France and India have traditionally enjoyed a very cordial relationship marked by warmth and close co-operation in various fields. Your high diplomatic skill and experience and personal qualities are well known. We are confident that under your wise and able leadership the Council will be able to discharge its responsibilities in a satisfactory manner.

61. Recent developments in the North African and Mediterranean regions threaten the delicate fabric of peace and security, not merely in the immediate region, but in the world at large. Naturally, they have caused profound concern and distress to the Government of India.

62. We have followed these disturbing events closely, and my delegation has listened with attention to the statements made by all the representatives concerned in respect of the communication addressed to the Council by the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya [S/15914], as well as the communication addressed to it by the representative of Chad [S/15902]. Our concern and anguish have become even greater.

63. What we are witnessing today is a sharp escalation of tension and conflict in the Mediterranean and North African regions. This is the result of an increasing recourse to the use or threat of force, and to military intervention and interference, in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has always taken a firm stand against all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or pressures. It rejects all forms of subjugation, dependence, interference or intervention, direct or indirect, overt or covert, and all pressures—political, diplomatic, economic, military and cultural—in international relations. Likewise, it is resolutely opposed to great-Power and bloc policies tending to perpetuate the division of the world into blocs or spheres of influence.

64. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, reaffirmed the need for strict adherence to the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States. They likewise reaffirmed the right of all States to pursue their own economic development without intimidation, hindrance or pressure [see S/15675, annex]. My delegation hopes that these principles will be observed by all States, as they are consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and fundamental to the maintenance of international peace and security.

65. It was largely as a result of the efforts of the member States of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that the General Assembly adopted on 9 December 1981 the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, contained in the annex to resolution 36/103. This Declaration was a historic achievement. Together with the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,² it provides a framework of inter-State relations based on mutual respect for sovereignty and independence, consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at the above-mentioned meeting noted with concern that policies of intervention and interference, pressure and the threat or use of force continued to be pursued against many non-aligned countries, with dangerous consequences for peace and security. My delegation fervently hopes that all States will adhere to these Declarations and observe these principles in their dealings with other States.

66. My delegation has supported efforts at the United Nations to bring about peace and stability in the Mediterranean region. The Mediterranean has often in history been the theatre of confrontation and conflict. The situation in the region is delicate and complex, exposed as it is to the repercussions of developments on sea and land around its shores. Non-aligned countries have been striving to transform the Mediterranean into a region free from crisis and conflicts. They have called for the reduction of tensions and the solution of problems in accordance with the Charter so as to turn the Mediterranean into a region of peace, security and co-operation. We hope that all States will join hands in this common endeavour and refrain from any action which could exacerbate an already grave situation in the region.

67. We are particularly concerned at the present situation as it also threatens the unity and solidarity among non-aligned countries. Indeed such unity is all the more necessary in dealing with the present situation. The New Delhi Conference recalled that the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes remains central to the philosophy of peaceful coexistence advocated by non-aligned countries. It noted that disputes and conflicts among non-aligned countries cause serious human and material loss to the economies of the countries concerned and pose threats to the peace and progress of their peoples as well as to the cohesion and solidarity of the Movement of

Non-Aligned Countries. The Conference further reiterated that the non-aligned States should be guided in their mutual relations by the principles of strict mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the inviolability of legally established international frontiers, non-interference and respect for the right of peoples to free national and social development. It also called for all disputes to be resolved exclusively by peaceful means in full conformity with the purposes, principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and objectives of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, as well as within the framework and principles of regional organizations such as the OAU without interference and without recourse to pressure, threat or use of force.

68. We cannot but avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our anguish at the sufferings of the people of Chad. That country has lived through strife and violence for almost the entire period of its independent existence, strife which has drawn it into the vortex of extraneous influences and outside pressures. Not only has this strife brought misery to the Chadians, but it has also served to exacerbate tensions in the entire North African region. We are against any action which tends to internationalize the situation in that country. Such internationalization would only serve to intensify and globalize the on going armed conflict and to make the situation even more serious and more difficult of eventual solution. The future of Chad is the sole responsibility of the people of Chad, and it is for them to resolve their problems free from outside intervention or interference of any kind from any quarter, near or far.

69. The urgent imperative of this hour is the exercise of restraint on all sides so that the fighting which threatens to engulf the whole area can be ended immediately and the process of dialogue in search of peace and reconciliation begun without delay. We are confident that the people of Chad and the OAU have the will, the capability and the means to find a solution to this essentially African question. We support all efforts to promote a solution within the framework of the OAU and in the light of the decisions taken at the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Addis Ababa last June. We trust that peace and harmony will soon return to that unhappy land so that the people of Chad can turn their attention to the constructive task of building their nation and to its much needed economic development.

70. I should like to conclude by expressing the hope that the Council will be able to take meaningful action to deal with the present situation, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, so that the threat of a wider conflict is averted.

71. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The situation in Chad has been deteriorating for some time now. New tensions have flared up recently because of the intensified super-Power military activities in the area. This cannot but cause serious general concern.

72. It is known to all that there are certain differences and disputes among countries in the region. However, these are all third-world countries whose differences and disputes can and should be resolved in a fair and reasonable manner through peaceful consultations within the framework of the OAU and the League of Arab States in accordance with the principle of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. As a matter of fact, the afore-mentioned regional organizations have continually been making positive efforts for mediation.

73. No infringement of or threat against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries there by any outside forces should be permitted. Meddling by super-Powers can only make the situation more complicated and aggravate tension, thereby jeopardizing the peace and security of the region and even the world at large. These developments therefore call for high vigilance.

74. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me, Sir, to state my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the difficult debates of the Council this month. You represent a country and a people with which my own enjoy solid relationships of friendship and co-operation based on objective and fraternal understanding of the reality of Central America. Nicaragua has every confidence in your experience and your skill as a diplomat, and we are sure you will conduct our debate wisely.

75. Today my country has to refer to a situation that confirms that the policies of intimidation and the threat of force—policies of provocation and of demonstrations of force—against independent countries are not limited to Central America. The big stick policy and gunboat diplomacy have been rightly criticized by many Governments around the world and by the people of the United States itself.

76. On 27 July 1983 the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, at the request of Nicaragua, emphasized what was stated by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in March 1983, that the halting of military manoeuvres or demonstrations of force would reduce tension and facilitate dialogue to achieve negotiated political solutions to the problems of the region [*see S/15896, annex*].

77. In fact, the Co-ordinating Bureau, in urging the United States to reverse its decision to carry out naval manoeuvres, emphasized a position of principle, which it behoves us to stress once again, as follows: "expresses its opposition to the holding of military manoeuvres as a means of exercising pressure" [*ibid.*].

78. Moreover, it must be understood that the presence of United States warships and aircraft carriers off the coasts of my country or of Libya is not a simple military exercise but, rather, a dangerous step towards aggression.

79. The deployment of United States forces in the Mediterranean, with the repositioning of the nuclear aircraft

carrier *Eisenhower* and the holding of the military manoeuvres called "Bright Star 83"—all very close to Libya—are acts of provocation which do not contribute to a relaxation of tension, nor do they foster reconciliation between the parties in conflict. These enormous military activities violate the spirit of the Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, since they do not promote the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation.

80. With the same intention of exercising threats and intimidation—this time against Nicaragua—the military manoeuvres called "Big Pine II" are under way. According to spokesmen of the United States Administration itself these manoeuvres involve more than 4,000 United States soldiers and an enormous fleet of warships on both coasts of Nicaragua. Even if, as the Administration maintains, it is a mere show of force, it is an unnecessary exercise, since Nicaragua does not question the strength of the most powerful country on Earth.

81. However, the aims of these manoeuvres are not so simple or so limited in scope; firstly, they are directed against countries with a common denominator, namely, a genuinely non-aligned policy; and, secondly, they are an instrument for domination and subjugation, the purpose of which is to curb the drive and determination of these peoples. To put it more clearly, they are a way of exercising diplomacy which at the end of the twentieth century is unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of the countries comprising the international community.

82. Just as in Central America, the situation in North Africa is complex. Undoubtedly, some of the social upheavals that are violently convulsing some countries as a result of under-development and exploitation are having an impact at the regional level.

83. African peoples have the political wisdom and the adequate leadership to meet the challenges of their own history by recourse to the ways and means which they themselves have created. For these reasons, we reject the reference to spheres of influence made by the President of the United States on 11 August. Africa, we believe, is a sphere of influence solely for Africans.

84. With regard to the conflict in Chad, Nicaragua wishes to place on record its position of principle and appeal for a halt to outside intervention in the domestic affairs of Chad. That country's people have the sole and exclusive right to resolve their own problems and decide on their own future with complete sovereignty.

85. Fortunately, our African brothers have a genuinely regional organization representing exclusively regional interests, and Nicaragua trusts that, within the framework and the principles of the Organization of African Unity, all efforts will be made to achieve peace and security in Chad and in the region as a whole.

86. Our country's own experience of threats and aggression compels us to oppose any policy of intervention. We

stand by the principle that all States must be constantly guided by the principles of strict respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other States, non-interference and upholding the right of all peoples to self-determination.

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

88. Mr. KULAWIEC (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I thank you and the members of the Council for granting my delegation an opportunity to participate in the debate. We are pleased to associate ourselves with the congratulations addressed to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. We are sure that your experience and ability will greatly assist you in guiding the work of the Council effectively.

89. This is not the first time this year that the Council is obliged to discuss the provocations and hostile acts of the United States against Libya. The Council has taken this step because Libya is faced with continuing and further escalating direct military threats and pressure aimed against its independent, anti-imperialist and non-alignment policy.

90. At this time American naval, air and land forces are operating not far from Libya's borders. United States military aircraft are engaged in acts of provocation in close proximity to Libyan borders. American AWACs aircraft are carrying out open reconnaissance of Libyan territory. Four States of the region, two of which have direct borders with Libya, are the arena for broad military manoeuvres with the participation of United States forces, which is the largest demonstration of American military strength in North Africa since the Second World War. These military actions are accompanied by a broad slanderous campaign against the Libyan people and its leaders. This campaign includes direct military pressure and armed provocation.

91. All this taken together serves as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of Chad, for sending large numbers of military advisers, mercenaries, regular troops and foreign interventionists and for increasing the supply of weapons to that neighbour of Libya's. The military, political and propaganda pressure on Libya is accompanied by economic blackmail on the part of the United States in order to undermine the development plans of the Libyan people. Libya, whose people chose the path of constructing an independent, economic and social system, has been subjected to subversive and provocative acts by American imperialism virtually from the moment of the September revolution. That dangerous policy and those acts of pressure are a cause for concern for all peace-loving States. The American people has been following those acts with concern because they are in violation even of the internal legislation of the United States and, in particular, of the United States Declaration of Independence.

92. The acts of pressure and provocation against Libya carried out by the policy of the United States and other imperialist Powers are nothing exceptional or new. They form a component of a global strategy of imperialism and should be seen as part of the escalation of the policy of acting from a position of strength; the policy of diktat, of confrontation in relations between States; interference in the internal affairs of certain States; the stirring up of existing hotbeds of tension and the creation of new ones, as well as the waging of undeclared wars against certain independent States. The most notable examples of that policy today are the Israeli aggression in the Middle East, the broadly condemned support of it by the United States Administration and actions aimed at overthrowing the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua. Part of that policy is to include virtually all regions of the world in the so-called sphere of vital interests of the United States.

93. In addition, as we can see from a recent cynical statement by a senior representative of the United States Administration, the imperialist Powers continue their old colonial practice of applying their policy of spheres of interest to the peoples of independent, developing and non-aligned countries. The leaders of the signatory countries of the Warsaw Pact stated in June 1983 that that policy was leading to a further increase of tension, to a further destabilization of relations between States and to an increase of the threat of nuclear war, with all its catastrophic consequences.

94. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic belongs to those States which are building their relations with the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and other States on a completely different basis, that is, on the basis of peaceful co-existence of States, on the basis of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, on a policy of mutual advantage, on respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, on the expansion of mutual co-operation and on establishing conditions for strengthening and further deepening the social and economic achievements of countries.

95. Czechoslovakia greatly appreciates the fact that Libya is pursuing a policy of non-alignment and supports its active participation in the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-racist struggles, as well as in the struggle to strengthen peace and co-operation among peoples. It is that policy which forms the basis of the high level of relations among States and which is reflected in the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Czechoslovakia and Libya, signed during the visit of the Libyan leader, Muammar Qaddafi, to Czechoslovakia in August 1982.

96. We are convinced that only such an approach to relations between States, only respect for the principles of the Charter and other principles of modern international law which regulate relations of peaceful co-existence and co-operation among States, can form an acceptable course of action for the conduct of States. We condemn the psychological warfare and acts of intimidation, military pressure and provocation against Libya. The cause of international peace and security makes it necessary for the Council, in

discussing Libya's well-founded complaint, to condemn the aggressive acts of the United States against Libya and to take every opportunity to put an end to those acts in the near future and prevent their repetition.

97. The degree of responsibility of each member of the Council before the international community becomes even greater because involved in this question is the conduct of a State which, from the very beginning of the existence of the United Nations, has used armed force to achieve its political goals almost 300 times.

98. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

99. Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): I already had the privilege, on the occasion of the debate on the situation in the occupied Arab territories, of expressing to you, Sir, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency for the month of August. I should like to thank you, and through you the members of the Council, for giving me this opportunity to explain the position of my country on the question on the agenda of today's meeting.

100. Once again the Council is considering a problem in the region of the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Back in February of this year a debate took place on the dangerous situation in that area as a result of military provocations by the United States [2415th to 2418th meetings]. Since then the situation has become further aggravated. My delegation therefore understands the request made by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the convocation of an urgent meeting of the Council.

101. World public opinion has been following with great concern the mounting provocative actions by the United States. In various regions of the world the main imperialist Power is attempting through a "show of force" to counter any efforts taken by non-aligned countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia towards independent development. That becomes quite obvious from the new threats to Libya by the provocative manoeuvres of United States warships off the Libyan coast, as well as by the flights of espionage aircraft over the territory of sovereign African States. At the same time, the United States and its allies are holding extensive military manoeuvres not far from the border of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

102. It is obvious, as was stated by the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, that the provocative military actions of the United States are part and parcel of a global policy of threats and confrontation by the imperialists.

103. It is no secret that the imperialists pursue their aim of expanding their military presence in the Middle East and enforcing their hegemonic aims in that region. The peace-endangering character of the "strategic alliance" between the United States and the aggressor, Israel, and

the collaboration of those fateful forces against the will of the peoples for a comprehensive, just and durable solution of the Middle East conflict can very easily be understood. However, in order fully to comprehend the extent of the danger to peace, it is necessary to take a look at the situation in other parts of the world, too.

104. By large-scale "military demonstrations" in Central America, the ruling circles in the United States continue to launch new provocations and to threaten the sovereignty and independence of sovereign States. Their objective, above all, is to bring down Sandinist Nicaragua. In southern Africa, the *apartheid* régime is encouraged by imperialist collaboration to commit new acts of aggression and to stop progressive developments in Africa. In Western and southern Europe, extensive military manoeuvres under the name "Autumn Forge" are being prepared by the United States and its allies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Also, in South-East Asia, imperialist forces stir up fresh tensions.

105. Such military activities are not only the cause of the aggravation of tensions and of the destabilization of the situation in the Middle East, the Mediterranean, Latin America and other parts of the world, but at the same time are also aimed, for instance, at preparing the ground for the deployment of United States nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe in autumn of this year, an act that would threaten the security not only of Europe but also of the Middle East region and the Mediterranean.

106. This is an issue that deeply concerns the people of the German Democratic Republic, too. The most recent military provocations and the attempts of imperialist Powers to interfere in the internal affairs of independent States and to achieve neo-colonialist objectives through pressure, blackmail, gunboat diplomacy and the threat and use of force, require the unity of all progressive States and forces throughout the world in the struggle for the preservation of peace and security. Persistent action by all the forces for peace is a constructive answer to the policy of confrontation pursued by imperialism.

107. True to the principles of its socialist foreign policy and in devotion to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic opposes any military and political action that dangerously increases tensions; we unswervingly advocate a peaceful solution to all international issues. Along these lines, my country supports the most recent efforts of the OAU to achieve a peaceful solution of the problems in Chad.

108. My country firmly sides with peoples that defend their national independence and sovereignty against all attacks by imperialist and reactionary forces; it stands firmly by the side of the Libyan people in its struggle to exercise its independence and national sovereignty during this situation, which is complicated by the growing number of military provocations on the part of the United States of America.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to exercise the right of reply, and I now call on him.

110. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to reply to the representative of Zaire even though he does not represent an independent Government and is but an agent.

111. In his book entitled *The World Challenge*, Mr. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber wrote:

"The United States sees Zaire's position in Africa like Brazil's in South America. . . .

"Mobutu got the foreign money and then set up a household guard of Europeans and South African mercenaries. This top-secret operation was co-ordinated by Colonel Mike Hoare, former commanding officer of the famous Sixth Commando unit which, with CIA [*United States Central Intelligence Agency*] help, had put Mobutu in power."*

112. Hence, Mr. Mobutu would want to strengthen the notion of protecting the client régimes of the United States, South Africa and Israel, from the outside, since Mobutu found himself in a critical situation: having seized power with the assistance of the CIA, his downfall was prevented through the overt protection of Belgian, French and Moroccan forces.

113. Therefore, Mobutu has aided Habré, to avoid being accused of being the only régime to enjoy foreign protection—a notion he wants to promote in Africa.

114. The representative of Zaire stated that Zaire, like any other State, has debts—to which I reply: true, many States have debts, but they do not have rich Presidents. For instance, Zaire's debts amount to \$4 billion, and the personal finances of President Mobutu amount to \$4 billion, meaning they are equal.

115. Some spokesmen interested in the military manoeuvres say that those exercises are innocent, had been prepared in advance and do not constitute a threat to anyone. I should like to state, however, that there are no innocent manoeuvres: military manoeuvres always have a certain political significance and are linked to certain events. Yet it is claimed that those manoeuvres were scheduled long ago. But the fact is that that attempted justification is not new. We have become accustomed to the United States Administration's preparation and shelving of plans for future implementation at the appropriate moment.

116. According to the representative of the United States, Libya is threatening its neighbours. That is not true. We are a small country whose population of 3 million people desires to live in peace. But let us look at the

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

actions of the United States Administration towards some of its neighbours or towards those that try to escape from its sphere of influence. It occupies the Guantanamo base despite the wishes of the Cuban people. Did the Cuban Government request the presence of United States troops?

117. Let us look at Grenada, which is prevented from even the establishment of an airport. Let us look at Suriname, which recently unmasked a CIA plot. Then let us look at Nicaragua and at the support for insurgents rebelling against legitimacy: did the Government of Nicaragua request the United States presence? Let us not forget El Salvador, Chile and all the others, or United States piracy on the high seas.

118. He who lives in a glass house should not throw stones at the houses of others.

119. It is clear from statements by United States officials that the aim of dispatching arms, tanks, aeroplanes and warships to that region is not to help the people of Chad or to support legitimacy—if legitimacy there be. The primary target is the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and the intent is to create a justification for launching aggression against it, smashing its military forces and undermining its economic capacity and the achievements it has made so far, in order that it should not exemplify the distribution and good use of wealth and the prevention of control of its economy by American monopolies, as exerted in Zaire, the Sudan and other countries.

120. The President of the United States of America has stated, and it has been reiterated by other American officials, that "Chad falls within the French sphere of influence and that it is up to the French Government to intervene there." It thus becomes clear that the aim of the United States is not to protect the interests of the people of Chad, but rather to carve spheres of influence. Habré, Nimeiri and Mobutu are nothing but tools and guardians of the interests of colonialism, as if the world were a plantation owned by the Americans.

121. Let us examine the United States position on racism, because this will furnish much proof of United States support for racists and racism. It has gone counter to the will of the 124 States which participated in the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which concluded last week in Geneva, by boycotting that Conference, along with Israel. That is because the Conference concerned itself with racist practices in South Africa and in occupied Palestine. In addition, the United States has taken a position in the General Assembly in support of the *apartheid* policy of the Government of South Africa. Hence, General Assembly resolution 37/69B of 9 December 1982 on concerted international action for the elimination of *apartheid* was opposed by the United States and two other States when it was put to the vote on 9 December 1982. That resolution was supported by 135 States.

122. That gives a picture of the position of the United States on the international scene.

123. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Zaire, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

124. Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I was not expecting to have to speak again in this meeting, but when I spoke earlier I predicted that equivocation and insults might be in store for us. As always, when they have no arguments what do they do instead of addressing the question before them? They tell us the same old stories. Everything the Libyan representative has just told us he has already said in previous statements. As I say, I do not want to respond to his insanities, but I ask rather whether he would not have been smarter to bring the Bible or the Koran into the Council chamber; perhaps if he had read to us from one of those books we would have had somewhat more inspiring ideas and words before us. It is not enough to quote an author who, in any case, puts forward absolutely no proof for what he claims. Besides, what does that have to do with the present debate?

125. We are talking of aggression. You are attacking Chad. You want to install one of your disciples as the head of Chad. You have long stated that your country has enough territory and that it absolutely does not want to make any further conquests. Very well: so what have you been doing for so long in the Aouzou Strip? Everyone knows very well that that land, the Aouzou Strip, does not belong to you, so what are you doing there? Maybe you are starting to wonder what will happen when your oil runs out; as you know, the Strip is very rich, and perhaps that is why you are clinging to it, so that when the oil runs out you will have something to exploit. Be that as it may, the problem before us today is the problem of aggression. Reply to that question, my Libyan brother, and stop repeating yourself.

126. I, and many other speakers, have stressed that this is your tactic: when you are challenged in your pillaging you cry "Help!", while everybody knows that you are in no danger. As we said the other day, it is a little like a thief who is caught in the act and who cries, "Stop thief!". But it is he who is the thief. And in this case, it is you who are the aggressor. That is what you are asked to explain. What is the use of your pointless nonsense, my dear friend?

127. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of the United States, who has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

128. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I suspected it was too good to be true, and it was. The afternoon, it seems to me, began in a most remarkable manner, remarkable particularly for the United Nations Security Council. The statement of the representative of Malta was full of insights, wisdom and the level-headedness that we have come to expect of that representative. The statements of Zimbabwe and India, and certainly the forceful and factual statement of the representative of Zaire, all contributed intelligence and focus and substance to the matter before us.

129. I rather suspected that the level of quality would markedly deteriorate when we got to certain puppet and client States, and it did. With respect to the statements made by the representatives of Nicaragua, of Czechoslovakia, of the German Democratic Republic and of Libya, I want to make two points.

130. First, there may or may not be such a phenomenon in the world as "innocent" manoeuvres, but there sure are guilty consciences. I state it as a principle of United States foreign policy that no country and no people without a guilty conscience need be fearful of the training exercises in which the United States engages with its friends and its allies, in which it long has so engaged, and in which it continues to engage and intends to continue to engage as necessary.

131. My second and last point is that we heard much from various speakers this afternoon of what one might call the principle of let Africa be Africa, let Chad be Chad. The United States could not more heartily endorse any principle: indeed, let Africa be Africa; and, indeed, let Chad—the people and Government of Chad—determine the future destiny of Chad.

132. But, as the representative of Zaire has already suggested, when a neighbourhood bully is beating up a neighbourhood kid—a tough but pretty skinny neighbourhood kid at that—the Government and people of the United States reserve the right and indeed the obligation to respond to a request for assistance from such a Govern-

ment and people. Throughout our history we have done so, we do so today, and we have every intention of continuing to do so as long as the bullies do not desist from their provocation.

133. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to be allowed to speak, and I call on him.

134. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset I should like to say that "Let Africa be Africa" was first expressed by Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, who advocated that Africa be left for Africans.

135. The representative of the United States has said that when a child is threatened or attacked the United States hastens to its rescue. In brief, we hope that that living conscience of the United States feels the plight of the Palestinians, the Lebanese and the African children in South Africa.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 32nd meeting.

² General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

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